

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS AS OF THE END OF AUGUST, 1969:

1) The article by Lyubomyr Dmyterko in LITERATURNA UKRAINA of August 5, 1969 created quite a stir in literary, intellectual, student, and other youth circles in Kiev, Lviv, and other Ukrainian cities. The article became the talk of the town and was considered to be the best information so far about Ivan Dzyuba's book Internationalism or Russification?. The book Shcho i Yak Obstoyuye Ivan Dzyuba /What and How Ivan Dzyuba Defends/ by Bohdan Stenchuk is also more or less known in respective circles, but it is not available to the general public. This "reply" to Dzyuba's treatise was published by the Society for Cultural Relations With Ukrainians Abroad and is destined primarily for distribution abroad. Nevertheless, by the end of July 1969 several people in Kiev were already in possession of this book. The author's name, Bohdan Stenchuk, is considered to be a pseudonym. The book itself is thought to be a collective work which includes some parts of various responses to Shelest's 1966 appeal to oblast party committee chairmen and the Union of Writers of Ukraine in which he asked them to comment on Dzyuba's "letter" (later to become known as the book Internationalism or Russification?). The publication of Stenchuk's book and Dmyterko's article coincided with Dmytro Pavlychko's attack against Roman Rakhmanny in Literaturna Ukraina of August 1, 1969, and together with such events as Ivan Sokulsky's trial on June 13, 1969, are considered to be the beginning of a new campaign against Ukrainian dissidents. Incidentally, the general opinion in Kiev and Lviv is that Pavlychko was forced to write his article against Rakhmanny, having been threatened by Kozachenko and others that he would be subjected to rather unpleasant consequences should he refuse. To a question posed to him by a Ukrainian from abroad about why he had done it and whether this means that he is "selling out", Pavlychko replied: "we sold ourselves a long time ago."

There are various interpretations of the present phase of the increased campaign against dissidents in Ukraine, and in particular of the latest attack against Ivan Dzyuba. Dzyuba himself seems to enjoy his present "status" and is quite proud of what he has done. He is rather optimistic as to the final outcome of the present pressure on him and hopes that he will muddle out his trouble somehow. His rationale is that this is not the first time that he has been under attack and pressure and that the worst that can happen to him is that he will be expelled from the Union of Writers of Ukraine. In his view, however, this does not mean that he will be immediately arrested, because up to now the unwritten rule has been that only non-members of the Union were subject to imprisonment. He is not even sure that he definitely has to face an expulsion, because in his own words, "they have tried to expel me at least two or three times before." Only last August (1968) he was in the process of being expelled along with Lina Kostenko. At present Dzyuba is more concerned about the health of his wife, who is suffering from some heart and liver ailment, and about her pressure on him not to do anything which might exacerbate the situation. Currently he is working on a reply to Stenchuk and Dmyterko and thinks that it will be at least as big a book as Internationalism or Russification?.

However, some of Dzyuba's friends are of a somewhat different, less optimistic opinion. They do not exclude the possibility that not only might Dzyuba be expelled from the Union and his job, but that he might also have to face some forms other forms of persecution, including administrative deportation or even imprisonment.

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"Generals from the Kiev KGB", "people from the Central Committee", and also some influential personalities from the Writers' Union have already indicated to Dzyuba that he might have to face a "Tarsis solution" - i.e. they would not mind sending him abroad thus transforming him from an "internal emigre" to a real one. Dzyuba's reply was that he preferred suicide to emigration and that he would never leave his country. He is inclined to interpret this as well as the clamor around his book which was published by Suchasnist as a good omen. His reasoning in this respect is that if the regime were going to liquidate him physically in one way or another, they would never have created as much popularity for him as they have done, but would have solved his case quietly and "in the good old KGB manner." Dzyuba and some of his friends are inclined to see as the main argument in his favor the fact that the recent Ukrainian revival has spread so deeply among Ukrainian youth, particularly its intellectual segment, that an eventual imprisonment of Dzyuba and others would create new martyrs and thus be contrary to the interests of the regime. Instead of subduing the revival, this would only intensify its further growth just as it did in the aftermath of the 1965-66 trials.

However, there are opposing views on the whole affair. For instance, Ivan Svitlychny does not exclude the possibility that the present campaign is just psychological preparation of the public for the harsh measures against the dissidents which might follow.

2) Ivan Svitlychny is reckoning quite seriously on the possibilities of being arrested in the near future. He is convinced that the seizure of Avtorkhanov's Technology of Power from him was elaborately prepared by the KGB. According to Svitlychny there must have been some sort of device in the book that reacted to a special apparatus which the KGB officers had with them. Before it reached Svitlychny the book had passed through several people's hands. Therefore he is convinced that the whole thing was arranged by the KGB. One part of the book was found with his sister, Nadiya Svitlychny, in the library where she was working and Ivan Svitlychny is worried that in case he is arrested, the same fate will await his sister Nadiya. Incidentally, during and after the KGB's search of Nadiya most of her colleagues in the library showed a great amount of sympathy for her. Svitlychny, however, places some hope in the division of opinion on this matter which exists among the highest party echelons. In his opinion such people as for instance Ovcharenko and perhaps even the KGB chief Nikitchenko himself were against any "final solutions" and preferred methods of persuasiveness and reorientation. This does not follow from any kind of patriotism on the part of the "respective personalities", but rather from their and others' unwillingness to give too much publicity to the present Ukrainian movement. In Svitlychny's view there are strong indications that Kiev is very sensitive to the comments on and discussions of Ukrainian problems abroad, particularly in the foreign press. The authorities know that new arrests would serve to popularize the Ukrainian question in the world. This would definitely not be in the interests of Kiev, either from a general point of view or that of Moscow-Kiev relations.

3) Ivan Sokulsky was sentenced on June 13, 1969 to 3 years of imprisonment in a concentration camp on the grounds that he was one of the authors of the protest document signed by the youth of Dnipropetrovsk. Although the court could not prove his co-authorship, he was nevertheless sentenced for anti-Soviet propaganda. The "adherents" of a more pessimistic view are inclined to treat his trial as an indication of harsher measures to come.

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- 4) Braslawsky (f.n.u.), a young intellectual from Kiev, was sentenced on May 24-26, 1969 in Kiev to two years of imprisonment in a concentration camp for anti-Soviet propaganda. Braslawsky had prepared two placards which he exhibited at Kiev University - one protesting the persecution of Ukrainian cultural activists, and the other against the oppression of the Ukrainian language. His case is also regarded as an indication of a further tightening of screws.
- 5) The Ukrainian National Front affair still continues. Recently three other members of this organization were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in concentration camps and are being held in Mordvinia. Only two names are known: Dyak (f.n.u.) and Krasowsky (f.n.u.). The latter is in very poor health and in a rather depressed mood. Krasowsky and the others were charged with disseminating old OUN-UPA literature which they had found in bunkers in the Carpathian mountains.
- 6) The rumor about a new trial from Opanas Zalyvakha is not true. He has one more year of his sentence to complete, after which he should be released.
- 7) Bohdan Horyn who now lives in Khodoriv and works on a construction site, did not have his term reduced and was not released before its expiration. As has now been ascertained, Vyacheslav Chornovil made a mistake in his Lykho z Rozumu when he wrote that Bohdan Horyn had been sentenced to 4 years. In fact Horyn was sentenced only to 3 years. However, later on it was too late for Chornovil to correct this mistake, besides which he did not think this to be so important.
- 8) Anatoliy Shewchuk was sentenced in 1967 to seven years of imprisonment for having stolen and hidden in his garden a set of type. Someone must have denounced him for the KGB found the type only in 1967. He was also charged with the preparation of an illegal "printing press".
- 9) The authors of the letter to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, Mykhaylo Horyn, Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukyanenko, asked that their appeal be given the greatest possible publicity abroad in the hope that this would at least to some extent mitigate their present unbearable situation.
- 10) Between July 15 and 20, 1969, Bohdan Horyn visited his brother Mykhaylo in Mordvinia. Mykhaylo Horyn is in poor health but otherwise in high spirits.
- 11) Vitaliy Korotych is in a phase of complete reorientation towards the regime line. According to Yuriy Smolych it was Korotych who decided not to publish the poems of Patricia Kylyna. As a rule, Korotych will not do anything now without first asking the proper authorities for their advice and approval. Some people are laughing about his usual phrase, "What's your advice on this?"
- 12) Ivan Drach is in a very depressed mood. He is presently working on a film scenario about Lesya Ukrainka. He has been reinstituted in his party membership but he has three reprimands on his record. Because of this he was not permitted to go to Poland this summer.
- 13) Mykhaylyna Kotsyubynska has a very difficult job. She is required to proof-read about 40 pages of type each day. As a result she feels exhausted by her work.

- 14) Wasył Stus is still employed and was not subjected to any persecution on account of the publication of his article in Süchasnist. - *date*
- 15) As of the end of July 1969 Vyacheslav Chornovil, who in the meantime "corrected" Lykho z Rozumu and collected some new materials by Masyutko and others, has not been summoned to the KGB in conjunction with his signing the petition to the United Nations.
- 16) Since the spring of 1969 the KGB in Kiev and Lviv has been spreading rumors about various people abroad being assassinated, wounded, or deceased. Among others there were rumors about an attempt on the life of Mykola Lebed who is allegedly in a hospital at this time, and about the deaths of Joseph Hirniak and Lisowsky.
- 17) There is a general increase of national consciousness in Ukraine, particularly among young people. This is most vividly manifested on such occasions as the celebrations commemorating Shevchenko and other Ukrainian "greats" and in theatres.
- 18) In June 1969 rumors circulated in Kiev that the KGB had tried to arrange "attempts" against Grigorenko and Solzhenitsyn. The former, prior to his arrest, was asked by a friend of his to come to a certain building. When someone else was sent there it turned out that some "hooligans" from the KGB were waiting there for Grigorenko, probably to beat him up. Something similar happened to Solzhenitsyn who was called out to a forest near Moscow and where again, as his friends who went there in his place ascertained, there were "hooligans" waiting for him in a car.
- 19) Mykhaylo Osadchy's prison memoir entitled Bilmo /Cataracts/ (142 pages) has already been returned from "Dnipro" publishers with a friendly letter explaining that although they found the manuscript very good and very interesting, this type of material is not suitable for them but they hope that someone else will publish it. Osadchy is keeping this letter for future use - i.e. in case his book gets published abroad, he plans to use it in self-defence.
- 20) Mykhaylo Ozerny*, who was "cheated" by the KGB during his trial, has buried himself in the country and maintains no contacts with his former colleagues.
- 21) Valentyn Moroz was to have been released on September 1, 1969.* ~~So far there has been no confirmation of this. ~~granted to release~~~~ His friends have bought him a house in Ivano-Frankivsk for money collected among themselves.

* Has been released (on 1 Sept 1969). Confirmed.
early Sept 1969.

* Whitehead's Gen. symbols - J. G. P.
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